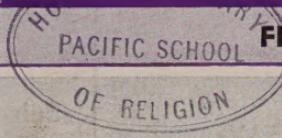
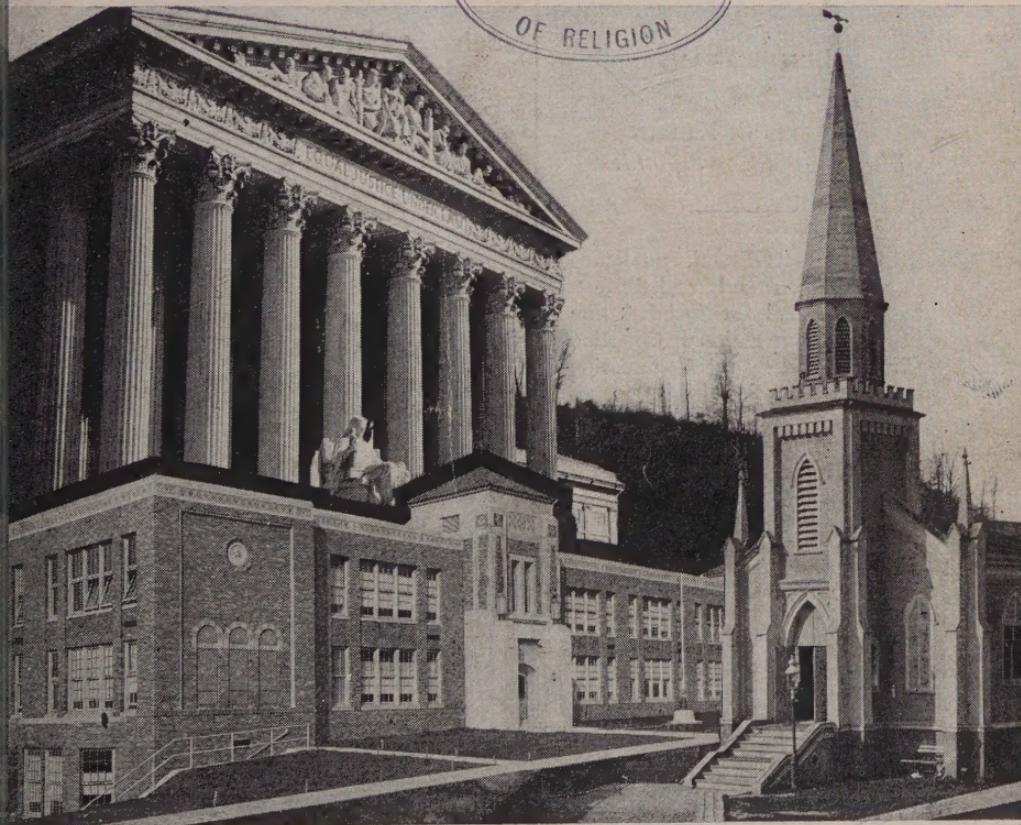


# SOCIAL ACTION

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FEBRUARY 15, 1949



PROTESTANTISM AND PUBLIC EDUCATION

By Ray Gibbons

# SOCIAL ACTION

## With WASHINGTON REPORT

VOL. XV, NUMBER 2

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## CONTENTS

Salute to Liston Pope <i>Ray Gibbons</i>	3
Protestantism and Public Education <i>Ray Gibbons</i>	4
THE PLIGHT OF PUBLIC EDUCATION	4
ROMAN CATHOLIC POLICY	11
PROONENTS OF ABSOLUTE SEPARATION	15
POLICIES FOR PROTESTANT- ISM	18
For Further Reading	27
The Reader Writes	27
Washington Report <i>Thomas B. Keehn</i>	32
Staff Changes	39
On To Action <i>Herman F. Reissig</i> <i>back cover</i>	

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## Salute to Liston Pope



Editor of this magazine for the past five years, Liston Pope has brought to our work a sure and competent touch, judged our own and others' writing by rigorous standards of accuracy and scholarship, weighed controversial issues with a fine sense of balance, and forged a keen polemic against sham and prejudice and ignorance. Once he suggested "Edge" as the title for another publication. "Edge" is what he has given *Social Action*. We, his readers, authors and

colleagues, salute him as one of the "writing prophets," upon his departure for a brief sabbatical in South Africa.

Teacher, author and lecturer, Liston Pope has made the principles of Christian ethics essential data for the interpretation of very complex social issues. He has engaged many in the warfare against principalities and powers. He has led in the assault upon spiritual evil in high places. Labor, races, classes of society, nations and churches have been illumined by his insight. In summer schools, Labor Temple, and in the theological seminaries, he has kindled a social passion informed by Christian faith. We, his students, salute him as one of the "teaching prophets" upon his appointment to the Deanship of the Yale Divinity School. As he leaves the Editorship of this magazine, sails from these shores, and moves to another position of Christian service, we give him our hearty "Hail and Farewell."

—RAY GIBBONS

# Protestantism And Public Education

By RAY GIBBONS

"Once again the problem of church and state relations is coming into sharp focus in American life, particularly in the field of education. The immediacy of the problem in the present results from recent decisions of the Supreme Court and from the current effort to secure aid for private and parochial schools at both the state and federal levels. With this problem, Protestants, public school authorities, and the supporters of our American democratic system of life are greatly concerned." So began the report in 1948 of the Commission on Church, State and Education\* appointed by the Council for Social Action in cooperation with the Division of Christian Education of the Board of Home Missions.

## The Plight of Public Education

In the years immediately ahead there will be several strong pressures upon churchmen to think through their position on the relation of religion to education. One of these will be the great need of the public school system for additional support from municipalities, states and the federal government. Since

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\*For five week-ends during the period of July 1947 to June 1948 it was my privilege to confer with the members of this Commission, composed of such persons as Prof. Roland H. Bainton of Yale; Prof. Harold Bruce, Department of Government, Dartmouth; Dr. Erwin Griswold, Dean of Harvard Law School; Rev. Frederick M. Meek, Pastor of Old South Church, Boston; Professors Liston Pope and Clarence P. Shedd and Dean Luther A. Weigle of Yale; Doctors Truman B. Douglass, Harry T. Stock and Erwin L. Shaver of the Board of Home Missions; Prof. J. Paul Williams of Mt. Holyoke College; and Thomas B. Keehn and Francis W. McPeek of the staff of the Council for Social Action. In this paper I will draw heavily upon the opinions and findings of this Commission and the subsequent findings of the Section on Church, State and Education at the meetings of the General Council of the Congregational Christian Churches, June, 1948. But the presentation in this paper is, of course, my own—for which I assume full responsibility.

the first World War when the universal draft exposed the shocking inadequacies and inequalities of the American educational system, the National Education Association has pleaded for increased public support. In spite of our millions in schools and colleges we still have more functional illiterates in the United States than we have college graduates. The second World War revealed again this tragic educational deficiency. Six hundred thousand men were rejected for military service because of illiteracy.

### *Inadequacy*

One reason for the inadequacy of the public schools is insufficient financial support. This was revealed by a careful study made of public school systems in 1940. A follow-up survey in 1947 showed that the schools were spending more dollars than in 1940 but that, due to inflation, they were actually providing *less* real support than in 1940. In 1946 the average teacher's pay in the United States was only \$1,176. Small wonder there was a shortage of 100,000 teachers and that schools preparing the teachers of the future were seriously low in enrollments. As a nation, we were spending only 1.5 per cent of our income on education while we spent 6 per cent on liquor and tobacco. Great Britain spends about 3 per cent of its income on education and Russia is reputed to spend about 7 per cent.

Ray Gibbons is now in his sixth year as Director of the Council for Social Action. Under his leadership the Council has been sensitive to emerging issues in American and world society, and has helped to focus attention on some of the more controversial questions confronting the churches. During the last year Mr. Gibbons has given special attention to the complex problems with which he deals in this article.

Prior to assumption of his present post, Mr. Gibbons had pastorates in Westbrook, Maine, and Northampton, Massachusetts. He is a graduate of Oberlin College and Union Theological Seminary.

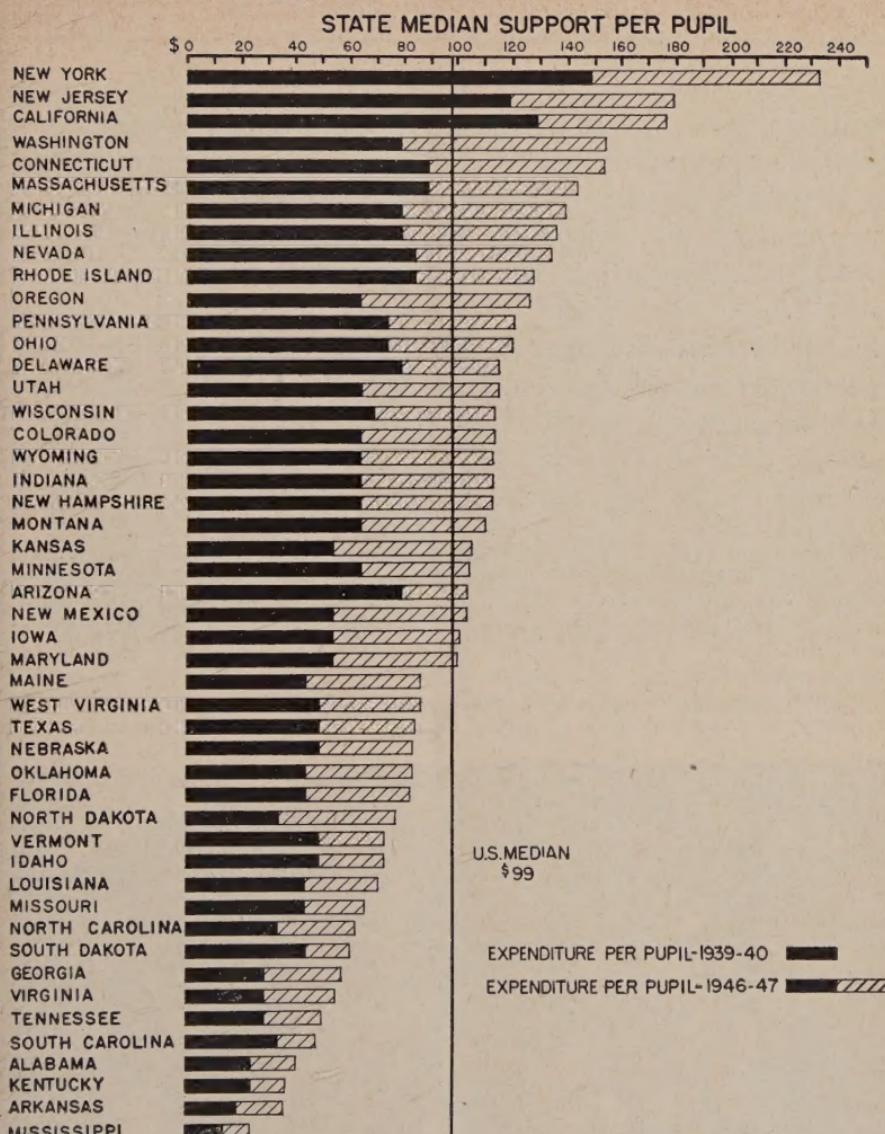
### ***Inequality***

Another reason for the inadequacy is the marked inequality between the states in the per capita expenditures for education. In 1946-47 New York state spent \$234 per pupil while Mississippi spent \$25 per pupil. This was not due to any lack of interest in education. In fact, the ten poorest states in terms of income spent a larger percentage, by 15 per cent, of their income on education than did the ten states with the largest incomes, and Mississippi's percentage of income spent on education was 31 per cent higher than New York's. If some of the Southern states had spent every last cent of their tax dollar on education alone they would not have been able to provide educational opportunities equal to those of their wealthier Northern neighbors. Indeed, Mississippi would have to triple her high tax rates to lift her educational support to the average for the nation. This serious discrepancy in educational support creates serious inadequacies in the area of the country where the children of school age are the most numerous. This was among the chief reasons why the National Education Association called for a special session of the 80th Congress to consider Federal Aid to Education and why that organization will continue to press for federal aid in the next session of Congress.

Obviously, the situation cannot be remedied wholly by increased municipal and state appropriations, important as they are. Regional inequality must be mitigated by federal support. The so-called Taft bill (S. 472, H.R. 2953) was designed to put a floor of at least \$40 under the per pupil annual expenditure for elementary and secondary schools. Schools for minority racial groups would have their "just and equitable proportion" according to the ratio a particular group bears to the total population of the state.

### ***A States' Rights Bill***

The Taft bill provides for states' rights and state control. It specifies that the federal aid is to be spent according to the



Enormous inequalities in expenditure per pupil still exist. Some states increased pupil costs more than the country as a whole (cross-hatched sections of the bar), but still have far too little per pupil to buy adequate schooling; a large percentage increase of very little is still very little. Some states increased school expenditures at a relatively slow rate, although they still expend more per pupil than the average for the U.S.; boards of education in such states are less able to buy first-rate education than in 1940. (Chart and information taken from "Still Unfinished—Our Educational Obligation to America's Children," published by the National Education Association.)

states' own laws and practices. Section 6 reads: "The funds paid to a State . . . are available for disbursement by the State educational authority, either directly or through payments to local public school jurisdictions or other state public education agencies, for any current expenditures for elementary or secondary school purposes for which educational revenues derived from State or local sources may legally and constitutionally be expended in each State." The only requirement the federal government makes is that the several states must report how the money is spent. This is the minimal, "accounting" control. Section 6 should allay the fear of federal control of education.\* No group has been more jealous of state

\*Some maintain that the Federal encroachments upon the schools during the depression (W.P.A., P.W.A., N.Y.A.), during the war period (Lanham Act) and the post-war period (G.I. Bill of Rights) set a dangerous precedent for a form of federal control which by-passes state and local regulation. But, as the American Council on Education and the Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association point out ("Federal-State Relations in Education," 1947), "Those who oppose all proposals for federal aid in the financing of education help to create educational shortages which ultimately



Unequal Opportunity. Here, a poorly-equipped, one-room school in Tennessee—by no means typical of educational facilities in the state, but a type found all too frequently.



*Richard Averill Smith*

**... And a Public School of Fine and Industrial Arts  
in New Jersey.**

and local control than the National Education Association but it is satisfied on this point. However, because this is a "states' rights" bill those states which provide bus transportation and/or textbooks for parochial school children may use federal funds for those purposes. Amendments proposed on the floor of the Senate of the 80th Congress which would have required all states to provide such transportation, or on the other hand which would have *forbidden* all states to use federal funds for such purposes, were defeated by overwhelming

must be met in some crisis through hastily passed federal legislation. Such legislation frequently carries substantial federal control." (page 15) "The mistake is sometimes made of assuming that financial aid is synonymous with control of program and administration. This is not the case. The presence or absence of control as a by-product of financing depends upon the terms of the legislation." (pages 31-32) General grants by the federal government are preferable to special grants. Allocation should be on an objective basis written into the legislation. Federal funds do not need to be matched by state funds. Special requirements and conditions should be held to a minimum. The states should formally accept the funds and, finally, the funds should be available to those schools which the states recognize as eligible for public funds.

majorities. This means that if and when the bill becomes law (it passed only the Senate in the 80th Congress) such issues as provision of textbooks and bus transportation for non-public schools, if opposed, must be fought in the states, state by state, rather than nationally. This is the price which apparently must be paid for states' rights and state control of education. Perhaps it is not too great a price.

### *C.S.A. on Taft Bill*

The Taft bill is the legislation which has received most favorable consideration thus far. It has the powerful backing of the N.E.A. On April 22, 1947, the Council for Social Action presented the following testimony before the Subcommittee on Education of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare:

We endorse it (S. 472) with certain reservations, and urge immediate consideration and approval by the appropriate Committees of the House and Senate and by Congress itself. . . . We recognize that today is a time of crisis in the public schools of America. . . . we pledge ourselves to a comprehensive study of public education in the United States and to a program of action which will contribute to the well-being and extension of the public school system. Secondly, we believe that the development of policies in some States which permit the use of public funds to aid private, sectarian education is contrary to the best interests of democracy and a violation of the constitutional principles of the separation of Church and State. (The recent Supreme Court decision in the New Jersey School Bus case accentuates this danger.) We therefore reaffirm our opposition to such policies and assert our intention to work vigorously against them in every state where they exist or may be proposed.

The General Council of Congregational Christian Churches meeting at Oberlin, Ohio, in June, 1948, declared, "We support a plan of federal aid for public elementary, secondary and higher education which supplements state and local appropriations but continues local and state control of the educational system, understanding that such funds are not to be allocated to non-public schools."

Many other religious bodies will support federal aid in principle. There is great likelihood that a federal aid bill of similar nature will be introduced in the 81st session of Congress and be passed. The first great step toward federal aid to education will soon be taken.

## Roman Catholic Policy

The second pressure which will require churchmen to think through their position on the relation of religion to education is the rapid growth of parochial school education and the consequent demand of the Roman Catholic hierarchy for public support. According to Dr. Francis M. Crowley, Dean of Fordham University School of Education (*America*, September 11, 1948, p. 505 ff.), Catholic parishes have built fifty new elementary school buildings *each year* since 1928 at a cost of ten million annually and a total cost of \$310,000,000 in the last twenty years. There are now 8,100 parochial schools, with 2,200,000 pupils and some 60,000 religious and lay teachers. The rate of increase in Catholic elementary schools is about one per cent annually. Between 1940 and 1946, private-school enrollments increased 8.2 per cent, while public school enrollments decreased 8.4 per cent, which Dr. Crowley views as "a salutary sign for all American education, because it indicates that a 'back to God' movement is under way. . . . Non-Catholics of good will are now registering their children in Catholic elementary and secondary schools."

If the Roman Catholic Church had to pay its teachers on the same basis as public schools it would call for an annual expenditure for education, elementary, secondary and higher, of \$420,742,900 per year. With the help of those in the teaching orders the Roman Catholic Church is able to care for education at present by an annual expenditure of \$182,250,000. As Dr. Crowley is careful to point out, this provision for education by the Roman Catholic Church represents an enormous saving to the state, a saving equal to the annual expenditures

for education by Ohio and Pennsylvania. "Catholic schools are in the big-business bracket." It is expensive business and it is small wonder that the hierarchy would like to have some public assistance in the form of tax support.

### **Parochial School Support**

The *right* of the Church to establish separate schools is incontestable. That was established by the famous Oregon Case [Pierce v. Society of Sisters, 268 U.S. 510 (1925)] which determined that parents have the "liberty . . . to direct the upbringing and education of children under their control." The recognition of this "liberty" has, however, led the hierarchy to press for the recognition of the "responsibility" of the state to support two school systems.

Several pillars support this position. One is the contention that education is not entirely a responsibility of the state but primarily a responsibility of the parents, given to them by virtue of their parenthood. On this basis the parent chooses the school and the state must support his choice, even though many citizens who are not parents are taxed for the support of the schools. The second pillar for the position is that education is the responsibility of the Church. Pope Leo XIII ("Immortale Dei," Section 32) speaks of the Church as "the true and sole teacher of virtue and guardian of morals." Pope Pius ("Christian Education of Youth") says, "First of all education belongs preeminently to the Church." The desirable school for the proper education of Roman Catholic children requires "that all teaching and the whole organization of the school, and its teachers, syllabus and textbooks in every branch, be regulated by the Christian spirit, under the direction and maternal supervision of the Church." Obviously state support of a Church-controlled educational system is not possible in the United States: "In . . . countries of mixed creeds, things are otherwise and a *heavy burden* weighs upon Catholics who support Catholic schools for their children entirely at their own expense. If such education is *not* aided from public funds,

as *distributive justice requires*, certainly *it may not be opposed by any civil authority.*" (Italics mine) Distributive justice requires state support of two school systems in the United States—this is the obvious deduction.

### No Government Support

Up to this time all the state courts and the United States Supreme Court have been unanimous in declaring that the government has no duty to support private schools; indeed, it cannot support any other system than public education. Basing their opinion on the First Amendment which says, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof," the United States Supreme Court declared (Everson v. Board of Education of the Township of Ewing, N. J., February 10, 1947), "No tax in any amount, large or small, can be levied to support any religious activities or institutions, whatever they may be called or whatever form they may adopt to teach or practice religion." In the McCollum case originating in Champaign, Illinois, the Supreme Court reiterated in 1948 its statement in the Everson case, to the effect that neither state nor federal governments "can pass laws which aid one religion, aid all religions, or prefer one religion over another."

The Roman Catholic Bishops (November 21, 1948) reaffirmed "our original American tradition of free cooperation between government and religious bodies—cooperation involving no special privilege to any group and no restriction on the religious liberty of any citizen." On this basis, they said, the state could "aid all religions" but not "prefer one religion over another." However, in view of the fact that almost all parochial schools are Roman Catholic it would, at the present time, be practically impossible for the government to aid all religious bodies equally by granting aid to their schools. The effect would necessarily be to "prefer one religion to another."

### *Aid to School Children*

The matter of "indirect aid" to school pupils is another matter. In this case, health and police services, educational aid like the G.I. grants, scholarship assistance and bus transportation would fall under the "welfare" clause of the Constitution, which states (Article I, Section 8), "The Congress shall have Power to . . . provide for the common Defense and general Welfare of the United States." Under this clause the federal government may not become the *adversary* of any religious group and exclude any person from equal benefits because of his religious beliefs. To quote the United States Supreme Court in the Everson case, "It (the state) cannot exclude individual Catholics, Lutherans, Mohammedans, Baptists, Jews, Methodists, non-believers, Presbyterians, or the members of any other faith, *because of their faith*, or lack of it, from receiving the benefits of public welfare legislation." Because bus transportation seemed to the majority of the Court to fall under this "welfare" clause, and because the money was paid not to the school system but to the parents of the child, the Supreme Court decided it was legal, but not obligatory, for a state to provide bus transportation to parochial school children from public funds. The Court concluded: "The First Amendment has erected a wall between church and state. That wall must be kept high and impregnable. We could not approve the slightest breach. New Jersey has not breached it here."

Because only indirect, "welfare" aid may now be provided from public funds, the Roman Catholic hierarchy for the present is seeking only this kind of aid. For example, they seek public transportation to parochial schools not only in the 18 states which now provide it, but in all 48 states. Where the states do *not* provide it they would have the federal government supply it. In testimony before the House Committee on Education and Labor, May 13, 1947, the Rev. William E. McManus of the National Catholic Welfare Conference stated,

"I want to go the limit in proposing a compromise which would give most of the money to the public schools and only a few dollars to non-public schools . . . (and would) provide funds so that children attending *all* schools, public and non-public, would receive essential school services, such as transportation, non-religious textbooks and supplies, and health and welfare services." Not even this "compromise" was included in the Taft bill, which therefore is quite unsatisfactory to the hierarchy.

### ***Influence on Public Schools***

There are other forms of Roman Catholic pressure upon local and state systems which I have only time to mention—control of the school board, superintendency and teaching positions, and the application of pressure upon schools to teach or not to teach certain things. Some of this pressure is the natural consequence of their fundamental premise of the inerrancy of the Roman Catholic Church. Pope Pius XI stated that non-Catholic schools, "neutral or mixed," are "forbidden for Catholic children, and can be at most tolerated." That poses a rather fundamental problem which Protestants will have to think through. Certainly, the pressure from the Roman Catholic hierarchy will drive us to take a more definitive position on the relation of church and state to education. Let us seek to make it pro-Protestant rather than anti-Catholic.

## **Proponents of Absolute Separation**

A third source of pressure will come from a group of non-Catholics working more or less in harmony under the name, "Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation of Church and State," slanderously nicknamed, "P.U." It includes such diverse groups as the Scottish Rite Masons, Southern Jurisdiction; the National Association of Evangelicals (fundamentalist); and such individuals as Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, Dr. John A. Mackay, Dr. Edwin McNeill Poteat and

Dr. Charles Clayton Morrison. They have issued a ringing Manifesto, which states that their "single and only purpose is to assure the maintenance of the American principle of separation of church and state." Their spokesmen frequently demand "a clear-cut line of separation." (*Christian Century*, January 21, 1948, p. 79-82)

There is considerable divergence among the members, however, as to how "clear-cut" this "line of separation" may be. Bishop Oxnam supported the Taft bill for Federal Aid to Education even though, in 18 states, it might help provide bus transportation for parochial school children. On the other hand, the *Christian Century* fears that this would "scuttle the American public school system." (*Christian Century*, April 21, 1948.) Charles Clayton Morrison would carry separation to the point of requiring the churches to assume financial support of chaplains in the armed services, and to removal of the tax exemption on church property.

### *To the Barricades*

Under the leadership of Dr. J. M. Dawson, legislative secretary for the Baptists in Washington, a considerable sum of money is being raised by "Protestants United" to fortify any possible breach in the constitutional "wall of separation" between church and state. In August, 1948, Mr. Glenn Leroy Archer, formerly Dean of the Law School of Washburn University, Topeka, Kansas, was appointed the Executive Secretary.\* He proposes to develop a model state program of legislation for separation on local and state levels and then to push such a program in every state and the nation as a whole. "It can be said," states Mr. Archer, "that in all we do our conduct and efforts will be Christian. We shall assert a leadership worthy of national confidence; we shall not lack courage; we shall have faith in our cause . . . the sacred cause of religious liberty." Undoubtedly we shall hear more from

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\*Offices at 1835 H Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

this source in the months ahead. It is exceedingly important to discover whether this will be a positive Protestant approach which recognizes the importance of religion in a child's education and the proper place of religious instruction in the school system, or whether it will simply discard all these values for the one goal of "separation."

### *Secularism*

There is a fourth pressure, less articulate than the others but even more pervasive. It is the growing secularism of our American society and the separation of religion from politics, economics and education. Mrs. Vashti McCollum of Champaign, Illinois, who fought the case against released-time religious education in school buildings, is an avowed atheist. Mr. Joseph Lewis, who fought a similar case in New York courts, is head of the "Freethinkers of America." Many avowed Christians take the position that the only way to safeguard religious freedom is to keep the Church and State securely isolated from each other. Such a position was forcefully expressed by Dean Griswold, a member of the Commission on Church, State and Education:

As I see it, the only sure protection for those who believe deeply in religious freedom is to maintain rigidly the line of separation between church and state. This does not mean that persons who are interested in the separation of church and state are irreligious or antireligious. It merely means that they are free to have whatever religious belief they are led to by their consciences. The right to have that belief should be protected by the state, but the belief and its teaching and its support should not only not be a function of the state, but the state should be wholly debarred from taking any action with respect to it, except the basic one of protecting freedom of religious belief. The moment that the state goes beyond that, the risk that the state will be supporting a particular religious belief or sect, and thus not giving equal religious freedom to all, becomes very great. . . . The only sure way to protect against the very serious risk that encroachments will get out of hand is, as I see it, to hold steadfast against encroachments at all.

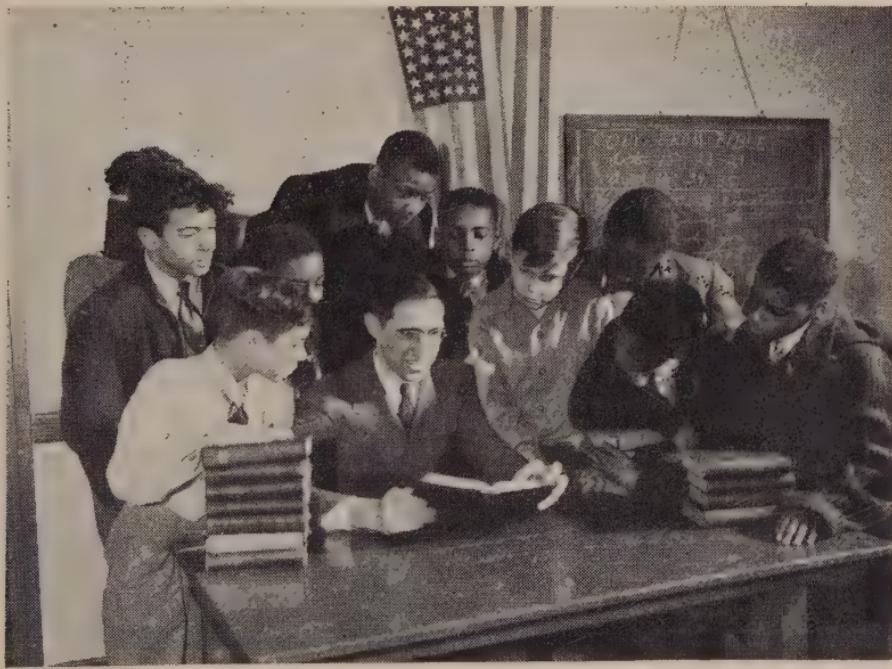
Many people, both in schools and in the churches, will consider the matter from this point of view. They assume that the church and state can be walled apart to the great advantage of the church and without serious damage to either or both. If Protestants rest content with such a position it may spell temporary peace for education and the church but it may spell the death of religion as a force in American society. The public schools will presume to teach a whole philosophy of life and preempt more and more of the time and energies of the children. Secular ideologies would have ready access to the schools, an access denied to religion. Such developments took place in Germany under Hitler. First religious education was removed from the schools and allowed only as an extra curricular activity. The last step in that process was repression of religious education and the complete secularization of the state. Similarly the Constitution of the Soviet Union (article 124) provides: "In order to insure to citizens freedom of conscience, the church in the USSR is separated from the state, and the school from the church. Freedom of religious worship and freedom of anti-religious propaganda is recognized for all citizens." We might have a similar result in which religion exercises no influence upon education, though allowed to prosper in splendid isolation. Secularism, like the dominance of an authoritarian sect, is an extreme to be avoided, a danger to be considered in forming a Protestant policy toward education. The problem is to combat secularism without succumbing to sectarianism.

## **Policies for Protestantism**

There are two forces within Protestantism which urge us to think through our policy on this question. One is the responsibility we feel, rightly or wrongly, because we think of ourselves as the parents and protectors of the public school system in America. We have generally believed that it was largely under Protestant auspices that the public school sys-

tem in America began. As one layman expressed it, "The Catholics have their parochial schools and the Protestants have the public schools." His superintendent of schools rightly checked him with the remark, "The public schools do not belong to either Catholics or Protestants but to *all* the children of America." Another evidence of this close tie of Protestantism to the public schools is seen in the "vestigial remain" in the Constitution of New Hampshire. The constitution, adopted in 1784, still provides for empowering the Legislature "to authorize, from time to time, the several towns, parishes, bodies corporate, or religious societies, within the state, to make adequate provision, at their own expense, for the support and maintenance of public *protestant* teachers of piety, religion and morality." (italics mine)

Another pressure within Protestantism is the sheer momen-



Released-time class held under the auspices of the Board of Education of the Protestant Council of the City of New York.

tum of the many efforts we have made to relate religion to education. Continuation of these efforts is necessary not only because of the failure of the home and church to give the religious education needed in our secularized, technical society, but also because of the prevalent educational philosophy that the purpose of the schools is the education of the whole personality. A school which presumes to teach the child all that is worth knowing and takes more and more of the child's time to do so renders a disservice to the church and itself by the omission of religion. Protestants, as well as Roman Catholics, have established schools especially for religious instruction. We have put our efforts into Sunday School and Young People's meetings. We sought to use vacation periods and then promoted a movement for "released" and "dismissed" time week-day religious education which has enrolled two million children. We have supported schools and colleges and maintained religious programs on university campuses. We have cooperated with the public schools in a wide variety of experiments in teaching the Bible, religious history and the use of religious exercises. We ought not withdraw from such programs unless we have a well-conceived, well-grounded plan for the relation of the church to the education of children. We have *our* eggs in this basket, too.

### ***Religious Freedom***

The first part of a positive policy for Protestantism would place the emphasis on the Protestant doctrines of religious freedom. We stand for free schools and free churches in a free society. We do not base our freedom on any amendment to the U.S. Constitution, but upon our Christian faith. God has created us in His own image with freedom to choose good and evil, to obey or disobey, to believe or doubt. His relationship to us leaves us free—indeed, makes us more and more free. The whole Protestant concept of faith leads to the "liberty of the Christian Man." There is considerable au-

thoritarianism in some parts of Protestantism and at times Protestants have used coercion and been intolerant, but by and large Protestants stand for the freedom of men to obey God according to their own consciences.

Much needs to be done to clarify the Protestant position on religious freedom. Protestants are not necessarily docile before the intolerance or intransigence of other sects. We are not necessarily on the defensive, protecting only our own liberties. Nor do we find our authority in some secular source, such as the Constitution. We have a positive doctrine of our own, based on our religious experience, founded in our first-hand knowledge of God. Protestantism, recovering its essential faith in religious freedom, can make a unique and significant contribution to American society and its system of education.

### *Separation but not a Wall*

While there is a Protestant position on religious freedom there is no single historical "Protestant position" on the separation of church and state. In some nations Protestant churches are "established" and in Colonial America Protestant churches often sought to dominate the state. Certainly the churches should not make a principle of Jefferson's misleading metaphor of a "wall of separation." The First Amendment to the Constitution does not define separation with precision. It merely prohibits the official establishment of any religion by the Congress and forbids the state to prohibit the free exercise of religion. Neither "establishment" nor "free exercise" are precisely defined. The Supreme Court itself is divided on its interpretation of the meaning of non-establishment of religion in the field of education.

The terms of the First Amendment certainly do not mean that the state is opposed to religion or neutral toward God.\* Nor do they mean that the church must avoid political activi-

\*The next two paragraphs follow closely the report of the Section on Church, State and Education to the General Council of the Congregational Christian Churches, 1948.

ties. They were not intended to silence the church on public issues or to relieve the state of moral responsibility. Both church and state are free and independent but both church and state are subject to God's laws, and each must cooperate with the other in discerning and obeying these laws. Their relationship toward each other is not that of isolated separation but continuous tension. Sometimes they support each other; at other times they are opposed. They are free and separate but interactive.

### ***Interaction***

Between the poles of "non-establishment" and "free exercise" lies a vast realm of functional interaction which cannot—and should not—be proscribed by legal and judicial acts. Instead of a "wall" we ought to have a "wavy line" between church and state. They are in dynamic relation to each other and the boundaries of their respective spheres cannot be determined once and for all. Each decision as to their proper relation should be determined in the service of religious freedom, rather than by keeping a high "wall of separation" which tends to promote the secularization of the state. The "wall of separation" is a misleading figure of speech which betrays Protestant principles and does not appear in the Constitution. Sound policy cannot be based on a figure of speech. The institution of the church and the institution of the state can fulfil their functions by remaining structurally independent of each other but they must cooperate closely on maintaining religious liberty and permeating the political and social order with religious values. The Protestant position is to win religious freedom and religious influence, not to erect "walls of separation."

### ***Cooperation***

A few sentences in a statement on post-war aims by the General Council of the Congregational Christian Churches in 1944 summarize a Protestant position on the relation of church and state. "Our Congregational Christian tradition holds to

the cooperation and not alone the separation of church and state. The dependence of both upon the will of God is the ground of cooperation. The state needs to safeguard the elementary rights of the churches. The churches in turn need to help the state perform its true duty as a member of the family of nations under God."

In similar vein a group of twenty-seven Protestant leaders\* has protested the Supreme Court interpretation of the First Amendment by the misleading metaphor of a "wall of separation." (*Christianity and Crisis*, July 5, 1948) "Cooperation, entered into freely by the state and church and involving no special privilege to any church and no threat to the religious liberty of any citizen," said the group, "should be permitted. As Protestants we desire to affirm this interpretation of the American doctrine of separation of church and state, and protest against the interpretation that has been formulated by the Supreme Court."

### *Active Support of Public Schools*

A second positive element in a Protestant program would be active support of the public school system. This requires increased appropriations and provision of a larger portion of the national income for public education. Protestants should wage campaigns for tax increases to public schools rather than align themselves with Taxpayers Associations seeking to reduce public school funds. It also requires support of federal aid for public education to supplement state and local appropriations and continue local and state control. Here Prot-

\*The signers were: Bishop James C. Baker, Eugene E. Barnett, Prof. John C. Bennett, John Crosby Brown, Prof. Robert L. Calhoun, Rt. Rev. Angus Dun, Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, Dr. Charles W. Gilkey, Dr. Douglas Horton, Prof. Walter M. Horton, Dr. Lynn Harold Hough, Dr. Umphrey Lee, Dr. Henry Smith Leiper, Bishop Francis J. McConnell, Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, Francis P. Miller, Prof. H. Richard Niebuhr, Prof. Reinhold Niebuhr, Prof. Justin Wroe Nixon, Rt. Rev. Edward L. Parsons, Andrew H. Phelps, Prof. Liston Pope, Hon. Francis B. Sayre, Rt. Rev. William Scarlett, Prof. H. Shelton Smith, Dr. Henry P. Van Dusen, and Charles T. White.

estants face a difficult issue. They must decide whether the benefits of federal aid to the public schools outweigh the possible benefits to non-public schools derived from funds for welfare purposes, such as bus transportation for students going to parochial or private schools.

Support of the public schools means exploring the possibilities of working with Roman Catholics, or, if necessary, without them, in the creation of public opinion, the enactment of legislation and the effective administration of public education in the interests of all the people. We should encourage competent citizens to run for school boards and should support their campaigns. We should encourage young people to enter the vocation of public school teaching. We should participate in programs supporting the schools, such as the Parent Teachers Association. Above all, we should preach and teach civic responsibility and make religion a potent force in community life.

### *Support Private Schools*

The third policy is a corollary to our principle of religious freedom and an auxiliary to our support of public education. Protestants should maintain private educational institutions for experimentation in the relation of religion to education and in order to preserve educational and religious freedom from possible totalitarian control by the state. We must continue experimentation with the introduction of religious content into social and historical studies, and with the inclusion of special courses to describe the relation of various religions to our culture. We should continue the maintenance and experimentation with released and dismissed-time weekday religious education, within the interpretation of the courts. We should strengthen programs of religious education in schools and colleges of higher learning, and where such schools are committed to Christian objectives and oriented to the Protestant interpretation of life we should support the institution itself. Some Protestant groups will see fit to maintain

# Church-Related Colleges



Across the country there stretches a chain of colleges of Congregational Christian origin, fifteen of which are now known as Congregational Christian church-related colleges.

In 1946, the Congregational Christian Churches, assembled in General Council, in Grinnell, reaffirmed "their historical purpose of offering a high quality of Christian education for young men and women of their parishes with the distinctive contribution which Christian colleges have to make to the lives of their young people, to the work of the church, and to human welfare." They recommended "that the denomination assume increased responsibility for the financial support of its church-related colleges."

The typical church-related college is a relatively small liberal arts college founded by Christian ministers and laymen. The following now constitute the Congregational Christian College Council: Beloit, Wisc.; Carleton, Minn.; Defiance, Ohio; Doane, Nebr.; Drury, Mo.; Elon, N.C.; Grinnell, Iowa; Illinois, Ill.; Knox, Ill.; Marietta, Ohio; Olivet, Mich.; Pacific University, Ore.; Piedmont, Ga.; Schauffler, Ohio; and Yankton, S.D.

parochial schools on the elementary and secondary level. There may be a time when, for conscience's sake, or to produce adequate leadership, Protestants will have to support parochial schools of their own.

## *Supplement Public Education*

Protestants must give massive support to their work of religious education in the home and church and society. We must provide teachers and equipment at least equal to that

of the public schools. We must provide programs for special interest and vocational groups. We must make skillful use of the mass communication media—radio, television, newspapers, magazines and movies. This would require an expenditure for religious education among Protestants more nearly comparable to the expenditure for parochial education among Roman Catholics.

Do we believe in our religion? We should encourage five or six hours a week for religious instruction instead of resting content with one or two hours on Sunday.

### *Revival of Protestantism*

Protestantism must re-invigorate the life of the church, its faith, its discipline and its witness. We should teach our own people what Protestantism is and what it stands for, the authority of the Scriptures, the priesthood of all believers, the nature of the church, the right and duty of private judgment. But more, we should strive to make Protestantism a far more effective influence in shaping the institutions of state, education, business and politics. We must re-awaken the sense of mission in Protestantism for the body politic. We cannot assume that the world of business, politics and education believes in or practices the ethic of Christianity, except in a most indifferent manner. The churches have an important role to perform, a great missionary task beginning at our very doors. Not the least of this is to carry the gospel to young people religiously undernourished by a secularized education, underfed by a secularized culture. Protestants with clear religious convictions must recognize that they are a minority within a non-Christian culture. This position imposes certain disciplines which are essential, such as clarification of principles, development of unified strategy, including both temporary and long-range programs, and most of all an explicit, aggressive faith. Only such a church can fulfil its God-given mission to preserve and improve free, democratic American society.

## For Further Reading

*McCollum v. Board of Education*, Champaign County, Ill. Supreme Court of the United States. March 8, 1948.

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*Federal Aid—Imperative*. National Education Association, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C. Free.

*Religion in the State University*, Clarence Prouty Shedd, Hazen Pamphlet No. 16, The Edward W. Hazen Foundation, 400 Prospect Street, New Haven 11, Connecticut.

*Church and State*, Evarts B. Greene, National Foundation Press, 143 N. Meridan Street, Indianapolis 4, Indiana. 25c. paper, \$1.00 cloth-bound.

*A Free Church in a Free State—America's Unique Contribution*. Frank J. Klingberg, National Foundation Press, 143 N. Meridan Street, Indianapolis 4, Indiana, 25c. paper, \$1.00 cloth-bound.

*The Christian in Action*, Statement of the American Roman Catholic Bishops, National Catholic Welfare Conference, 1312 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington 5, D.C.

*Church-State Relations*, Thomas B. Keehn. In *SOCIAL ACTION* magazine, November 15, 1948. Council for Social Action, 289 Fourth Avenue, New York City 10. 15c. single copy.

*The Supreme Court as a National School Board*, Edward S. Corwin. Reprint from *Thought*, Fordham University Quarterly, Vol. XXII, No. 91, December, 1948. 25c. a copy.

## The Reader Writes

### Church-State Relations

Sirs:

Congratulations to you and to Mr. Keehn for his admirable statement on Church-State Relations in the November 15 *Social Action*.

I feel that Catholics (of whom I am one) owe him a particular debt of gratitude, for though he feels that he and we "are as far apart as the North and South poles" as

regards the question of religious liberty in the United States, he does not let this blind him—as it almost inevitably would a smaller mind—to the possibility of Protestant-Catholic cooperation in resisting the encroachments of secularism.

But I wonder if we are as far apart in this respect as he thinks.

He speaks of "the Roman Catholic principle on church-state rela-

tions" and of "the Protestant principle in the United States"—and uncovers, of course, a great dichotomy. I do not suggest that comparing the *universal* Catholic view with the *national* Protestant view is altogether like comparing apples and pears, but I do think it is not the most enlightening comparison. Thus Protestants believe in establishment in some countries—in fact, according to *Religious Liberty* by Searle Bates, there are more Protestant establishments in the world than Catholic.

True, the Catholic Church is a single, worldwide authority, and Catholic doctrine is the same for all countries. And a Catholic may not prudently maintain that Separation of Church and State is best under all circumstances for all countries. But he need not hold that Union of Church and State is best either. And I think American Catholics have over a number of years made pretty clear what they think is best for the United States.

A century ago, Bishop England, one of the greatest figures in the Catholic Church in the United States, wrote: "I am . . . a devoted enthusiast . . . to the liberties and the constitutions of our American confederation; therefore, I am irreconcilably inimical to every effort . . . to violate their principles by disfranchising any portion of our citizens under the pretext of their religious mistakes."

The celebrated Cardinal Gibbons wrote: "Other countries . . . other manners; we do not believe our system is adapted to all countries; we leave it to Church and State in other lands to solve their problem for their own best interests. For ourselves, we thank God we live in America, 'in this happy land of ours', to quote Mr. [Theodore] Roosevelt, 'where liberty and religion are natural allies'." And again: "American Catholics rejoice in our

separation of Church and State; and I can conceive of no combination of circumstances likely to arise, which should make a union desirable either for Church or State."

Another outstanding figure in the Catholic history of the United States, Archbishop Ireland, said: "Violate religious freedom against Catholics: Our swords are at once unsheathed. Violate it in favor of Catholics and against non-Catholics: No less readily do they leap from the scabbard."

Last January the Chairman of the Administrative Board of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, Archbishop McNicholas, declared: "We deny absolutely and without any qualification that the Catholic Bishops of the United States are seeking a union of Church and State by any endeavors whatsoever, either proximate or remote. If tomorrow Catholics constituted a majority in our country, they would not seek a union of Church and State. They would then, as now, uphold the Constitution and all its amendments."

Last June, the well-respected Catholic theologian, Rev. John Courtney Murray, S.J., told the Catholic Theological Society: "The asserted right of a 'Catholic government' to repress heresy rests on, and derives from, a concept of the power of the Church in temporal matters that is indefensible today." This concept, he added, "will not return, and should not return to the world even if, by the grace of God, religious unity should return to the world."

During the same month the Rev. John F. Cronin, S.S., an official of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, speaking in the NCWC radio program, the Catholic Hour, said: "If I believe a truth on the basis of divine revelation, I must consider any contrary statement to be wrong. I will disagree with others who do not think the same way

I do. But at the same time, I will respect their right to follow their own conscience and convictions."

In an article in the November 27 issue of *Collier's*, Cardinal Spellman wrote: "Thousands of our sons lie coffinless beneath the seas and sacked in graves in the soil of alien lands. . . . Our martyrs, living and dead, fought each day's fight . . . with one thought and hope—to come home to America. . . . Because to each one, America meant the freedom to live, love and learn, to work and to worship the way his conscience taught."

Finally, with the apparent intent of making this matter as clear and official as possible, the Archbishops and Bishops of the National Catholic Welfare Conference—which is, for all practical purposes, the Catholic Hierarchy of the United States—issued a formal statement on November 20, 1948. Signed on behalf of the others by a committee consisting of the four American Cardinals and ten Archbishops and Bishops, this statement read, ". . . there should be a reaffirmation of our original American tradition of free cooperation between government and religious bodies . . . involving no special privilege to any group and no restriction on the religious liberty of any citizen. We solemnly disclaim any intent or desire to alter this prudent and fair American policy of government . . ."

If this is not a sufficient assurance to those who have been fearful of what the late Monsignor John A. Ryan said some years ago in his *State and Church*, and of what others said before him, it is hard to imagine what might be. Of course this statement—and Cardinal Spellman's—was published after Mr. Keehn's piece appeared in *Social Action*, so I am obviously not suggesting he should have known about it before-

hand. But now that he knows, I trust he is reassured.

Edward J. Heffron

The National Conference of Christians and Jews, Inc.  
New York, N. Y.

P.S. Mr. Keehn is under the impression that Catholics have not had much to say about the Everson and McCollum decisions. If he will telephone the librarian of the National Catholic Welfare Conference in Washington, I am sure she will be glad to give him a bibliography that will surprise him.

### Religion and the Public School

EDITOR'S NOTE: *By permission of the author, we reprint here certain portions of a presentation made by Frank N. Trager, National Program Director, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, at a session of the National Community Relations Advisory Council, April 9-11, 1948.*

Every parent and teacher knows that from pre-school age on, children ask about the three Kantian questions: "God, Freedom and Immortality." Their language may be anthropomorphic; their needs are none the less real. It is unreal to suppose that the school which includes so much of the child's life each day can exclude by adult fiat the child's concern for the significant questions which man has asked since recorded time. The issue is not to include or to exclude, but rather what to include, and above all, how!

Our approach to the problems of religious values in the public school curriculum is different from the teaching of sectarian religion in at least two important respects. First, it is not teaching of religion but *about* religion; that is to say, it is information and not indoctrination. Secondly, the method and content we propose is intercultural rather than *sectarian*. A Christmas pageant,

with the singing of Christmas carols, is a sectarian observance; it is monist in approach and in a school of ethnically and religiously diversified composition, it cannot fail to make certain groups feel deprived and excluded. But a festival celebration during late December with the singing of Hanukkah and Christmas songs—and even better, a Hanukkah-Christmas-and 'other Festivals that are observed at this time of the year celebration—is an intercultural observance; it is universal in approach and in harmony, as no sectarian ceremony could be, with the pluralistic temper of our society. We believe, and evidence exists, that such an intercultural approach is both possible and thoroughly opposed to inter-religious "assimilation" or "religious indifferentism." We believe too, that it is manifestly undesirable that the curriculum represent only a part of the culture, or that the curriculum neglect any significant aspect of the culture. Moreover, the curriculum should not be the product of a small number of people who are concerned with the problem. Nor should it represent the needs and interests of those who constitute the majority in a given community. In other words, the curriculum should not be the product of teachers only, or school administrators only, or the majority of racial or religious groups only.

The public school and the public school curriculum should properly reflect the total culture. This means that the culture in its entirety must somehow be integrated into the curriculum, at whatever point is most feasible. . . . Modern curriculum methodologists have confirmed this principle, which has been so eloquently affirmed time and time again: that the validity of the curriculum is directly proportional to the completeness with which it attempts to integrate all the knowl-

edge and all the insights to answer all the needs of all who are concerned. To the degree that the curriculum reflects the totality of reality, it prepares our youth for the totality of reality.

Our second affirmation, based on what has been said above, is that the curriculum should be the product of cooperative effort on the part of all who bear any relation to it. It is not the job—or at least it ought not to be—of teachers alone, or of administrators alone, but of teachers and administrators and parents and pupils working through parent-teacher-pupil groups, community-school committees, and the like. The democratic principle in America is based not merely on minority rule, even of an enlightened minority, nor even on majority rule, but on a majority rule which receives its validity only in so far as it is a true reflection of the majority wish and, at the same time, genuinely safeguards minority rights. This principle has a very important bearing on curriculum method and on how the public school curriculum should attempt to understand and answer the religious needs of the people in the community. The curriculum should properly be a sensitive instrument, sensitive at each point to the needs of all these elements in the community, responsive to the needs of majority and minority and giving to each and all a due and just share in the rich enterprise which is public education.

Thirdly, we must trust those who will evolve such a curriculum—which is to say, we must trust ourselves. We have been too long beset by fear. If we are to begin rejecting this or that element in the curriculum because of its implicit or inevitable controversiality, it will not be long before we have only skeletal remains. But the fact is that we have not gone and will not go on this kind of rejection ram-

page, and it is significant that it has always been those who were fearful of dynamic curriculum who were at the same time fearful of controversy. It is almost amusing (in a rather melancholy way) that so many of the proponents of "keep religion out of the public schools" would keep the educational process static only in this regard, and are the very ones who want the curriculum to be dynamic in every other instance—politics, economics, international relations, philosophy—everything, in brief, except religion. This cannot be, for a curriculum cannot exist half-go and half-stop.

The entire concept of intercultural education follows logically from this understanding of the dynamic curriculum. Intercultural and intergroup education is pointless if it does not give due attention to the interfaith and interreligious aspects of intergroup problems. In intercultural relations, one must consider all cultural groups, whether racial, ethnic, or religious. And how will the public school consider the group "Catholic" or the group "Jew" or the group "Protestant" or the question "Christian-Jewish" relations unless it gives a great deal of time and attention and study to what these various groups stand for and what they believe in—in short, what they are. All over the country and par-

ticularly in the past five years, there has been a great deal of work in intercultural circles with respect to teacher training, textbook publication and revision, reorganization of intercultural methods in the classroom, and the like. There have been summer workshops in intercultural education from coast to coast, all with a view to preparing teachers to play their proper role in furthering intergroup understanding. Teachers attending such workshops have visited churches and synagogues, listened to priests and rabbis and ministers talk about the various faiths which make up America, eaten lunch and dinner at Catholic or Jewish or Methodist settlement houses. They have tried to learn about the tangible representations of Christian and Jewish life in America so that they can pass on this kind of information to their students.

This preparation, all this information going to and fro, has had for its objective something very different from information for the sake of information. Its whole motivation and direction has been for the purpose of greater understanding, of sharing experiences so that people can come to value their neighbors and come to have a freshened perception of intergroup and interpersonal relationships.

—FRANK N. TRAGER

*Contributions to "The Reader Writes" should be addressed to: Prof. Kenneth Underwood, Denison University, Granville, Ohio. Unless it is specified otherwise, any communications addressed to the Editor will be considered available for publication. Letters should be brief, and the Editor reserves the right to omit portions without changing the sense. Unsigned letters will not be published, except where anonymity is obviously warranted.*

# WASHINGTON REPORT



February 15, 1949

By Thomas B. Keehn

## THE TRUMAN FAIR DEAL

Washington is an exhilarating place during these early days of the 81st Congress. A large fund for the Inaugural ceremony was voted by the 80th Congress in anticipation of a Republican President. This was taken over and used enthusiastically by the Democrats. Big events during Inauguration week in late January included a Gala Concert, a two and a half hour parade, the Presidential Ball, as well as the formal Inauguration ceremony conducted on the East steps of the Capitol. It was the greatest show in sixteen years, perhaps the greatest in American history.

New faces brighten the Washington scene, both in Congress and in the Administration. They are not primarily members of the old New Deal who were in exile for several years. Rather, many of

these spokesmen for the Truman Fair Deal are young men and war veterans.

An interesting note for Congregational Christians: several Democrats are included in a delegation that is always predominately Republican. Senator Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota, Senator J. Allen Frear, Jr., of Delaware and Representative Clyde Doyle of Long Beach, California are in this group.

A few additions have been made to the White House staff. The purpose is to enable the President to do a better job of legislative planning and to improve liaison with legislative leaders on Capitol Hill.

The major achievements in the 81st Congress to date have resulted from a new emphasis upon party discipline and upon policies adopted by the party

caucuses. Committees of Congress have primary responsibility for drafting legislation. The Democratic leadership has exercised considerable power in moving old members of Congress around and assigning new members to key committees. The ancient principle of seniority still prevails for committee chairmen. An example of this maneuvering was the treatment of Representative John E. Rankin. Party leaders decided that the chairman of a committee could not be a member of another committee. Representative Rankin, as Chairman of the Veterans Committee in the House, was therefore ineligible for membership on the Un-American Committee where he had been such a noisy troublemaker.

The effectiveness of party discipline was seen in the early vote in the House of Representatives to change the rules of the House in such a way as to limit the power of the Rules Committee. This Committee now must report out a bill within 21 days after receiving it. If it does not, the Rules Committee can be discharged from its responsibilities upon the request of the chairman of the committee which had originally report-

ed the bill. The Rules Committee therefore becomes a traffic cop to see that legislation is considered in an orderly manner.

The Democrats, in accepting political responsibility for the 81st Congress, also want to take credit for the achievements which they expect to make. Therefore, there will be less of the bi-partisan approach, especially on certain domestic issues. In foreign policy, partisan political considerations will still be kept to a minimum.

Republican members of the 81st Congress have spent considerable time re-thinking their party structure, program and leadership. Certain additions have been made to policy-making committees which represent the liberal, or as it is sometimes called, the "young Turk" group within the party. These changes in the Republican Party will continue for some time before any resolution of the conflicts which now exist will be achieved.

The political program for the 81st Congress has been stated in broad dimensions by both the President and Congressional leaders. This program is well-documented. It is not esoteric or ambiguous. Most of the issues were dis-

cussed widely during the election campaign. They have been detailed in studies made in various government agencies and in the three official messages of the President to the Congress. These messages—the State of the Union, Economic Report, and the Budget—are both voluminous and explicit. It is not yet clear how many of these recommendations can be carried out in view of the marvelous intricacies of our system of government, but it is certain that a powerful and co-ordinated effort will be made to achieve Congressional approval of many items in this program.

## A New Society

In his State of the Union message President Truman began with this statement which is the key to the program of his administration:

"In this society we are conservative about the values and principles which we cherish; but we are forward-looking in protecting those values and principles and in extending their benefits. We have rejected the discredited theory that the fortunes of the nation should be in the hands of a privileged few. We have aban-

doned the 'trickle-down' concept of national prosperity.

"Instead, we believe that our economic system should rest on a democratic foundation and that wealth should be created for the benefit of all.

"The American people have decided that poverty is just as wasteful and just an unnecessary as preventable disease. We have pledged our common resources to help one another in the hazards and struggles of individual life. We believe that no unfair prejudice or artificial distinction should bar any citizen of the United States of America from an education, or from good health, or from a job that he is capable of performing.

"The attainment of this kind of society demands the best efforts of every citizen in every walk of life, and it imposes increasing responsibilities on the Government."

Here is a bold but simple recognition and acceptance of the social and economic revolution which has occurred in this nation during the past twenty years. It now becomes the framework within which a comprehensive program for the future will be built. The national community, functioning

through government, shares responsibility and concern for all aspects of life. Wide areas of freedom are still left for individual and group action in social, economic and political affairs.

The meaning of this general proposition will be clarified during the next few years. A distinction can be made between the legislative program for the immediate future and long-term goals, although no exact timetable has been worked out.

## The Legislative Program

Within a few months legislative action can be expected on the following issues:

**International Relations**—A three-year extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act, funds for the European Recovery Program, amendments to the Displaced Persons Act, and enactment of the Judd bill to remove race as a limiting factor in the immigration law.

**Social Welfare**—Federal Aid to Education, some housing legislation, including rent control, and improvements in the Social Security Act.

**Economic Affairs**—Repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act and sub-

stitution of the Wagner Act with amendments, strengthening of the Labor Department, raising the minimum wage under the Fair Labor Standards Act, modification of the parity formula for farm prices, repeal of the tax on oleomargarine, additional funds for TVA, and restoration of original provisions of the Atomic Energy Act.

**Governmental Structure**—The report of the Hoover Commission will produce changes in the Executive branch of the Government; amendments to the Reorganization of Congress Act, passed in 1946, are in order; and adoption of procedures for the conduct of hearings by Congressional committees will be considered.

Legislation which may be considered late in this session of Congress, or in the next session, includes the following:

**International Relations**—Approval of the charter of the International Trade Organization, acceptance of the North Atlantic Regional Security Pact, military aid to Western Europe, and—most unlikely of all—universal military training.

**Social Welfare**—Health insurance remains the most con-

troversial item in the Social Welfare program.

**Economic Affairs** — Adoption of economic measures to control inflation, tax reduction, and authorization of additional Valley authorities on the TVA plan.

**Civil Rights** — The entire Civil Rights program will probably be considered at a late date because of its controversial nature.

On long-term policies, Congress and the Administration will undoubtedly be working together on some very basic questions. Among the most important are the following:

**Natural Resources** — A national policy on natural resources. This will be considered in terms of conservation, development, and national defense.

**Economic Planning** — The machinery of the government for dealing with economic trends will be refined. The Council of Economic Advisors will be the key agency in this project. Better integration between the Executive and Legislative branches of government will be imperative.

**Human Welfare** — A com-

prehensive and integrated human welfare program will be charted. This will be capped by a new Department of Human Resources with Cabinet status.

**Civil Rights** — Protection and extension of Civil Rights on a national basis is primarily a reflection of healthy economic and social conditions. The ultimate test of all progress in this field will be the abolition of segregation. The problem of totalitarianism — the modern expression of political tyranny — poses serious questions for dealing with civil liberties in a way that protects the individual and at the same time safeguards national security.

**Foreign Policy** — The proper use of American economic, political and military power will be the criterion of the maturity of the nation in fulfilling its responsibility in national affairs.

### **American Power and Foreign Policy**

The efforts of the Truman Fair Deal to build a new society in America must necessarily be geared to the tremendous problems of American foreign policy. In fact, the decisions made in the international field may well determine whether or not the United

States will have an opportunity to proceed with its plans for domestic social progress at this time.

The problem of peace is a mental and spiritual one, as well as political and military. In one sense, peace is more dangerous than war. The objectives of peace are always vague and long-term. Singleness of purpose is gone. This is the real menace of peace which corrupts individuals and nations.

American foreign policy since World War II has suffered from this general difficulty. It has been made more complicated by the emergence of the United States as world power No. 1 and the need for maturity and responsibility in foreign policy which this fact demands.

For more than three years the United States has been engaged in the job of building the structure of peace. As a nation, we have fewer illusions about this task than we did twenty-five years ago but it is still true that our national policy lacks both perspective and steadiness.

Some definite progress has been made. The people of the United States supported the United Nations and all its related agencies. Great efforts

were made in a program of relief and rehabilitation in devastated areas. Where the concern for people was paramount, the United States responded generously.

It was more difficult to see and accept the responsibility for reconstruction of the economic systems of European nations. Finally, however, this step was taken through approval of the European Recovery Program. Some of the motives which prompted this action were of the wrong kind but nevertheless it was a move in the right direction.

The most difficult and dangerous proposals are still ahead of us. These involve decisions regarding the use of American military strength to fulfill our international responsibilities. It is impossible to make absolute distinctions between the use of American power for relief and economic rehabilitation on the one hand, and political and military aid on the other hand. In fact, all of these elements are essential ingredients of a stable international order. Everything depends upon the degree to which all kinds of American power are used and the reasons which motivate our action.

Church people in particular have been quick to respond to appeals for help from people who are in great difficulties. They have tended to abhor military and political actions on an international basis as being improper uses of power. In the present stage of world affairs it is necessary to look at every proposal in the field of international relations—whether it be for purposes of relief, economic aid, or military assistance—and ask whether or not it will contribute to the establishment of a just and durable peace.

The 81st Congress will consider two proposals which will be critical tests of the political wisdom of the United States as it develops its foreign policy. First will be the North Atlantic Security Pact which has been developed under Articles 51 and 52 of the United Nations Charter. This Pact, which brings together the nations of Western Europe, Britain, Canada and the United States, may further those conditions of international understanding and cooperation which are necessary for the eventual establishment of world government. On the

other hand, the Pact may be used as an aggressive instrument of military and political power.

The second proposal will be for military aid to the Western European nations. This proposal will be patterned on the wartime lend-lease plan. Once again, it may contribute to the stability and will for peace of these nations, or it may be a program of rearmament which could only aggravate international relations.

These two problems will be among the most critical which the 81st Congress must decide. It is important that they be fully discussed, both in Congress and by citizens throughout the country. The importance of maintaining civilian control in all fundamental decisions affecting foreign policy has been stressed by the appointment of Dean Acheson as Secretary of State. The people and the government of the United States must now examine economic, political and military aspects of foreign policy as a whole. The objective must always be a concern for a just and durable peace, working through the United Nations.

## Staff Changes

When Herman F. Reissig completed his first week of service with the Council for Social Action as Secretary of International Relations, he facetiously remarked, "I've been here a whole week and I can't see any improvement in the international situation." Fortunately, his success in this position, following Vernon H. Holloway who left to teach at Denison University, will not be measured by the international repercussions but by his helpfulness to church people in dealing with the complex problem of a disordered world from the perspectives of Christian faith.

Mr. Reissig has held pastorates in Bridgeport, Connecticut, Brooklyn, New York and Quincy, Illinois. From 1937 to 1941, he directed an American organization aiding Spanish Republicans and refugees. He has made five trips to Europe as exchange preacher and relief director, spoken many times in college chapels in this country, and is a frequent contributor to religious periodicals. He was recipient of one of the awards from the *Churchman* magazine for the best sermon of 1947. Since April, 1947, he has served as Field Secretary for the American Committee of the World Council of Churches. He began his work with the C.S.A. December 15, 1948.

The Council for Social Action announces the appointment of Kenneth Underwood of Denison University, Granville, Ohio, as Editor of *Social Action*, beginning with the March, 1949 issue. Mr. Underwood was formerly managing editor but resigned when he left New Haven to become Associate Professor of Modern Social and Economic Thought at Denison. He is a graduate of Wisconsin School of Journalism, the author of *Christianity Where You Live* and numerous articles in religious publications. The first issue of *Social Action* under his editorship, March, 1949, will be on "The Middle Classes and American Protestantism."

## On To Action

If Protestants agree that the educational situation in the United States is profoundly unsatisfactory they may still disagree on remedial action, but we shall not act at all until we understand that Christian people in this country have been living in something close to a "fool's paradise." If that seems too strong, call it the Great Educational Illusion. The illusion and the result of holding it are perfectly described by Ray Gibbons when he says (page 18): "Many people, both in schools and churches, will consider this matter from this [essentially secular] point of view. They assume that church and state can be walled apart to the great advantage of the church and without serious damage to either or both. If Protestants rest content with such a position . . . it may spell the death of religion as a force in American society. The public schools will presume to teach a whole philosophy of life and preempt more and more of the time and energies of the children."

Whether or not the public schools "presume" to teach a whole philosophy of life, they must certainly make that impression on our young people. And from this presumably "whole philosophy of life" all religious ideas are omitted! To suppose that this situation will not ultimately spell the death of religion as a force in American life is an illusion which we must discard with all possible haste.

The article asks for five specific actions. One: Insist that cooperation between church and state, properly defined, is a much more adequate, and Christian, goal than a "wall of separation." Two: Give the public schools vigorous support! Let no school official or teacher get the impression that we take a sour or niggardly attitude toward the schools. Three: Strengthen our present program of religious education all along the line. Four: Study the possibilities of parochial schools. "There may be a time," says Mr. Gibbons, "when, for conscience's sake, or to produce adequate leadership, Protestants will have to support parochial schools of their own"—as some denominations are now doing. Five: Work toward a goal of five or six hours of religious instruction per week, in the home and church.

Local churches, singly or in cooperation with other churches, could also help by presenting adult forums in which current events and important aspects of our culture are interpreted within a Christian frame of reference. This is one good way to make the principles of the Bible relevant to the headlines of the newspaper.

Hermann F. Reising